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NATIONALISM IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789

by

Kiley Bickford

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for a Degree with Honors
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Abstract

The French Revolution of 1789 was instrumental in the emergence and growth of modern nationalism, the idea that a state should represent, and serve the interests of, a people, or "nation," that shares a common culture and history and feels as one. But national ideas, often with their source in the otherwise cosmopolitan world of the Enlightenment, were also an important cause of the Revolution itself. The rhetoric and documents of the Revolution demonstrate the importance of national ideas. The Republic relied on national symbols, such as the tricolor flag and the “Marseillaise” anthem, to spread nationalist ideas throughout French society; and by means of a nationalized military to other countries.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Nationalism has played a pivotal role in the forming of many countries and ideas of nationalism can be seen far back in history. For example, in the mid-1400s, Joan of Arc professed a dedication to her country that raised it above all others, but this was mixed with dedication to God and King. Not until the French Revolution of 1789 do we see a nationalism that is aimed completely at the people and country of France. This force, which brings people together and makes them see themselves as one, has been very influential. In modern history, when people in a country are joined by a shared language, culture, history, economy, and geographical location, they form a bond that constitutes a nation. When people identify as members of their nation before anything else, they also tend to put the needs of the nation before other considerations. But what role did nationalism play in the French Revolution of 1789?

First, one must understand what the idea of a nation meant at the time. According to Otto Dann, from antiquity, nation, in the old Latin sense, meant a people of the same origin. The most common criteria for a nation were a shared language and history;[1] a "people" generally shared a background and ideals. From this emerged the leading social groups, which expressed the characteristics of the nation. Most clearly a new sense of national identity, or national consciousness, evolved and created the ideal basis for a nation- state.[2]

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[1] Otto Dann andJohn Dinwiddy, *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution* (London: Hambledon Press, 1988), 4.
[2]Ibid, 5.

In the case of France, these binding ideals did not necessarily include language. According to official figures in 1863, 8,381 of France's 37,510 communes were not majority French. They included a quarter of the country's population. Thus French was basically a foreign language to many "Frenchmen.[3]" Despite this language barrier, the inhabitants of France somehow achieved spiritual unity beyond political or administrative structures, a unity of mind and feelings that was a reflection of a shared culture.[4] The idea of *la patrie* emerged to express these binding qualities among the people of France.[5] It began among certain social groups, perhaps, but soon spread beyond their origins. One result of this consciousness was the people's *will* to form a nation.[6]

Prerevolutionary France had little sense of a united people. Class divisions were strong, and those of privilege generally did not associate socially with those below them. According to B. A. Avner, "Nationalist sentiments were known, then, in prerevolutionary France, but they were shared mainly by limited circles within the elite and were subordinated to the higher value system of the Church and the monarchy. It was the Revolution that transformed them into a powerful, popular force which cut itself loose from the tenets of the Old Regime and based itself upon a new set of principles."[7] Before the Revolution, much of the national sentiment revolved around a particular social class rather than the entire nation. On the eve of the revolution, however, class divisions became less important, and the desire for a single nation emerged.

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[3] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, Part 1 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, , 1976), 67.
[4] Ibid. 95.
[5] David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 7.
[6] Ibid, 18.
[7] Avner Ben-Amos, "Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism," *History and Memory*. (Indiana University Press, 1993), 55.

The proto-nationalist ideas of such Enlightenment writers, as Montesquieu, Locke, Voltaire, and Rousseau, influenced the Revolution. Each professed varying ideas about a nation in the interests of the people, and contemplated the ideal forms of government, society, economy, and religion. The writings of these *philosophes* had an effect on the emergence of nationalism during the Revolution of 1789.

Likewise, the General Cahiers of 1789 showed an emerging national consciousness. They expressed the frustrations and concerns of people in the provinces of France. While most focused of local grievances, an underlying desire for greater recognition and a voice in government also surfaced.

The leaders of the Revolution, e. g., Mirabeau, Vergniaud, Barère, Danton, and Robespierre, gave inspirational and influential speeches that illustrate the nationalist evolution of the Revolutionary period. They illustrate the transition from monarchy to popular Republic. Even from within different parties, the orators of the Revolution used national sentiment and dedication to the nation to rouse the representatives in government. Many of these speeches were carefully planned and written and distributed among the people of France beyond those in government meetings.

Likewise, the laws and Constitutions passed by the National Assembly, Legislative Assembly, and National Convention echo the nationalist values of the Revolution, and frequently found their justification in the protection of the nation. They show the changes, but also similarities, in the policies of the nation as different parties rose to and fell from power. This nationalist sentiment found its final expression in the levy *en masse* of 1793, which appealed to the young men's patriotic spirit and sense of

duty to the nation. National symbols, such as the tricolor flag and “La Marseillaise,” provided rallying points for those who responded to the call of duty.

Chapter One: Emerging Nationalism

While there were many causes of the French Revolution of 1789, a few are credited with having the strongest influence. Among these were the faulty financial practices, a confusing and shaky government, agrarian distress, and Enlightenment ideals. All of these factors contributed to discontent among the people. There was increased state spending and a growing burden of state debt. Some of the spending can be attributed to the wars France fought (or financially assisted) during the eighteenth century. These were funded almost entirely by borrowing, which put France deeper in debt.[8] The high rate of inflation was largely due to the marked increase in metallic currency in circulation during the century as well as a greater distribution of lines of credit.[9] Higher prices were the result. Albert Goodwin found that "the average general prices of consumers' goods in France were 45 per cent higher in the period 1771-89 and 65 per cent higher between 1785 and 1789 than they had been between 1726 and 1741."[10] This increase was not matched by people's incomes, so people found that they had fewer and fewer resources to live from.

The balance of power within the government was also flawed. While technically an absolute monarchy, the power of the monarch was greatly checked by the political power of others, and was hampered by the remaining relics of feudalism. The Church held power, mainly through the influence it had over the hearts and minds of the majority of the people. Catholicism was part of people's everyday lives, and they trusted the

[8] Albert Goodwin, *The French Revolution* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1962), 10.
[9] Ibid, 25.
[10] Ibid, 25.

teachings of the Church far more than they trusted the people who taxed them into poverty. The Church held records of births, marriages, and deaths. There were also clergymen in positions of power at all levels of the government.[11] As David Bell expresses, "The rise of the concepts of nation and *patrie* initially took place as Europeans came to perceive a radical separation between God and the world, searched for ways to discern and maintain terrestrial order in the face of God's absence, and struggled to relegate religion to a newly defined private sphere of human endeavor, separate from politics."[12] The turn to rationalism that was characteristic of the Enlightenment tended to separate the Church from the nation. This influence, in turn, shifted people's devotion from the Church to the idea of the *patrie,* or fatherland.

Another source of influence within the government were the *parlements*, high courts which had the right of registering royal edicts and ordinances. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the *parlement* of Paris had begun

> To arrogate to itself the right of verifying and remonstrating against royal legislation, the form or substance of which it considered inconsistent with previous legislation or at variance with certain 'fundamental laws' of the monarchy. The framing of such 'remonstrances' had the effect of deferring the registration of royal edicts and preventing the recognition of their full legality until such time as the king either revised them in accordance with the *parlement's* wishes, or overcame the resistance to them by means of an enforced registration (*lit de justice*).[13]

In other words, the *parlements* had significant power, which enabled them to influence the laws of the state, and even go so far as to deny the passage of an edict. In 1771, Louis XV decided this power was too much and abolished the Parliament of Paris, creating a new court system for that city, as well as five other courts that cut into the jurisdictions of

[11]Ibid, 14.
[12] David A.Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*, 7.
[13]Ibid, 16.

provincial *parlements*.[14] This stirred resentment and anger among many people, as the *parlements* had acted as their voices, contesting efforts at increased taxation. This edict was quickly reversed by Louis XVI in 1774, under pressure from the people and his advisors.

Provincial estates also held significant influence within the government. They had the power to enact local initiatives, as well as fiscal privileges. These provincial estates were controlled mostly by lay or clerical aristocracy.[15] In addition, the Catholic Church held about 15 percent of the land in France, collected the tithe and other taxes, and engaged in commerce. However, it was exempt from taxation by the State.[16] The lay and clerical aristocracy held the majority of the wealth in the country, and that gave them power within the government. The landholding aristocracy held seigniorial rights stemming from the feudal system. These rights allowed them to charge tenants for services; including the maintenance of courts to settle local disputes, to collect various dues, to charge tolls on roads and bridges, and for the local population's use of the seigneur's grain mill or baking oven.[17]

Peasant and noble lives alike were also threatened by a failing agricultural economy. A stalemate between peasants who wanted to preserve traditional methods of cultivation and the monarchy's efforts to advance new agricultural methods resulted in a complete failure to modernize.[18] Recurrent crop failures caused peasants to hoard their harvests, and they refused to trade with areas where famine was more pronounced. Fear

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[14] Owen Connelly and Fred Hembree, *The French Revolution* (Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1993), 14.
[15] Albert Goodwin, *The French Revolution*, 19-20.
[16] Owen Connelly and Fred Hembree, *The French Revolution*, 12.
[17] Jeremy D. Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 5th Edition. (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), 10.
[18] Albert Goodwin, *The French Revolution*, 21.

of starvation was abundant, especially among the poor farmers who could not afford to buy food if their own crops failed. The traditional land-ownership system, or *métayage*, in which large farm owners leased parts of their land to tenants for a portion of the harvest, also frequently included feudal taxes due to the land owner. Those whose crops failed, but who still had to pay their taxes to their lord, found it extremely difficult to survive. Many lost faith in the system that put them in such a position with no chance of advancing.

Enlightenment ideas also had a large influence on the French Revolution. *Philosophes* such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau produced essays that considered the ideal forms of government, religion, economy, and society. Enlightenment writers' criticisms of the established system, such as the monarchy and the Catholic Church, awakened literate French people to the need for reform.[19] "By the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a yawning emotional void, left by the discredited notions of God and king. And the idea of the nation, *la patrie*, was beginning to fill this void."[20] People began to see the flaws and corruption within the government and the Church, and turned to the idea of a secular 'motherland' that reflected the will of the people.

The writings of the Baron de Montesquieu, particularly his *The Spirit of the Laws*, reflected the criticisms of French politics that were common in the Enlightenment. He argued that there was no single legitimate political system, but that the system of

[19] Owen Connelly and Fred Hembree, *The French Revolution*, 10.
[20] Geoffrey Best, *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy, 1789-1989* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1989), 19.

government should reflect the social, cultural, and geographical conditions of the country. He also advocated for divisions of power within the government.

> When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty; because apprehensions may anse, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner. Again, there is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary control, for the judge would then be the legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with all the violence of an oppressor.[21]

Montesquieu expressed the view that an absolute monarch was in danger of becoming a tyrant when he/she had absolute power. By separating the government's power, Montesquieu thought to limit the possibility of France's monarchy becoming a tyranny. Critiques of absolutism throughout the eighteenth century repeated and spread his ideas about the need for independent institutions capable of limiting the power of the king and ministers in France.[22]

Another writer who espoused the ideas of the Enlightenment was Voltaire. He was heavily critical of the Catholic Church, championing freedom of religion, of expression, and of the press.[23] He brought into question the privileges of the church, and its close political ties with the monarchy and nobility. Through his vocal criticisms of the church and the 'unenlightened' state, the concept of *la nation*, untainted by ridicule and

[21] Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws, vol. 1,* trans. Thomas Nugent, J. Nourse, London, 1777, 221-237, Accessed from: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/montesquieu-spirit.asp. Jan. 7, 2014.
[22] Jeremy D. Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 16.
[23] Owen Connelly and Fred Hembree, *The French Revolution*, 8.

suspicion, met a growing need amidst the educated people for an outlet for their love of country.[24]

An important pre-Enlightenment writer who also influenced the French Revolution was John Locke. His ideas on the social contract revolved around a separate sense of 'the people' vs. 'the government,' which enabled the unified people to stay separate from the government. The people reserve the right to challenge and to transform state institutions if these do not meet their needs.[25] And if the government is replaced, the people still remain a united whole. Locke also introduced the idea of a right to rebellion, if the government failed to fulfill the needs of the people, as the French Old Regime clearly did. The idea of a sovereign, united people clearly supports the ideals of nationalism, especially in France where the concept of national identity was not so much about the physical nation as it was about identifying as a 'Frenchman' and being loyal to the nation.

Jean- Jacques Rousseau, while not a native of France, was another writer who influenced the French Revolution. He advocated a government in the interests of the people. His *Social Contract* was particularly influential during the Terror of 1793-1794, under Robespierre and the Jacobins.[26] His ideas about the General Will being the criterion of government made it possible for an individual to submit to the law on the basis that those laws were in his/her best interests. The duty of the government was to

[24] Geoffrey Best, *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy, 1789-1989*, 25.
[25] Chimene Ilona Robbins Keitner, *The Paradoxes of Nationalism: The French Revolution and its Meaning for Contemporary Nation Building* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007), 38.
[26] Owen Connelly and Fred Hembree, *The French Revolution*, 9.

instill virtue in the people, and to teach them to put the good of the whole above their own personal desires.[27]

The Enlightenment, especially its most prominent contributors, was important because it created a climate of opinion in which revolution was possible. The *philosophes* had no unified theory; however, they were masters of criticism and dissent and were full of hope for change. They created in France a 'political culture' made up of a clientele of activists centered in the Paris salons, provincial academies, and in the Masonic order.[28] While not directly generating the ideas of nationalism, certain aspects began to emerge in Enlightenment-era France, specifically that of *la nation*.

Because of the political and economic instability, nobles and clergy demanded the convocation of the Estates-General in 1787. When this demand was ignored, and the Parlement of Paris was exiled to the provinces, the regional *parlementaires* incited the local people to violent protest. This made it difficult for tax collectors to do their job and find resources for the state treasury. On top of this, the Assembly of the Clergy showed their support of the *parlements* and voted to give the King an insultingly small *don gratuit*.[29] In August of 1788, the king announced that he would call a meeting of the Estates-General for May 1789.

A growing sense of unity within the country foreshadowed the nationalism expressed during the revolution. Nationalism developed during the subsequent French Revolution as a driving force within revolutionary governments. This emerging national

[27] Ibid.
[28] Owen Connelly and Fred Hembree, 10.
[29] Ibid, 24.

consciousness was expressed in the General Cahiers of 1789. These were a compilation of the *cahiers de doléances*, or lists of grievances, submitted by every electoral assembly throughout France. There was a marked similarity among the *généralités'* (the administrative divisions of France) demands. Even within the three rival estates, many expressed the same fundamental goals and desires.

According to Beatrice Hyslop, "The general cahiers may be classified in five groups as regards nationalism: (1) those which show no nationalism, and those whose nationalism may be described as (2) 'conservative,' (3) 'intermediate,' (4) 'progressive,' and (5) 'radical.'"[30] The cahiers reflect varying degrees of nationalism, as must happen within such a large nation. What was most interesting is the percentage of more radical cahiers. Hyslop again writes:

> Of the two hundred and thirty-two imperative mandates for which we possess the corresponding cahiers, 5 per cent were from districts showing no nationalism and 20 per cent were from districts whose nationalism was 'conservative,' while 37 per cent were 'intermediate,' 23 per cent were 'progressive,' and 15 per cent were 'radical' in nationalism. These percentages presaged the ensuing struggle for the transformation of the States-General into the National Assembly and the ultimate triumph of 'progressive-radical nationalism.'[31]

So out of 232 cahiers, a total of 75 percent of them projected intermediate, progressive, or radical nationalism. This shows a pattern toward more radical forms of nationalism within France in 1789.

Despite similarities in goals among estates, there was some contention about how to achieve those goals. Especially within the Third Estate, there was dissatisfaction with the reigning political system. The cahiers, especially those from the Third Estate,

[30] Beatrice Fry Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789, according to the General Cahiers* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 203.
[31] Ibid, 228-229.

disagreed with the tradition of an absolute monarchy. For example, the Third Estate of Etampes wrote that "the first and the most essential object is to establish the legislative power on an invariable basis; that power belongs incontestably to the nation; it has been deprived of this for a long time, and it is to this dispossession that the disorders which have troubled the peace of the state should be attributed…"[32] More and more, members of the Third Estate felt undervalued. Abbé Sieyès states that the Third Estate was a complete nation in itself, and referred to the "privileged orders" as an arm in chains on the body of a strong man.[33] Some revolutionaries agreed with him, thinking that the nation should be controlled solely by the Third Estate. However, they were not yet the majority, and according to the cahiers, the general consensus leaned toward joint rule by the monarch and the Estates General.

The forms of nationalism varied greatly by généralité. Looking at France as three concentric circles centered on Paris, a pattern appears; the inner circle was mainly progressive-radical nationalism [expressing ideas to radically change the government in the interests of the people], the middle circle was intermediate nationalism [expressing ideas about modifying the government], and the outer circle was conservative nationalism [with some ideas about changing the government, but balanced with concern for local issues].[34] This pattern shows that the most radical ideas of nationalism, such as abolishing seignorial rights, formed in the political center of France. These nationalist stirrings also influenced other emerging revolutionary political ideas.

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[32] Archives Parlementaires, Vol. III, p. 283, art. I. Quoted in Beatrice Fry Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789, according to the General Cahiers*, 66.
[33] Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, "What is the Third Estate?" November 29, 2013. http://faculty.smu.edu/rkemper/cf_3333/Sieyes_What_is_the_Third_Estate.pdf.
[34] Beatrice Fry Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789, according to the General Cahiers*, 228.

During the meeting of the Estates-General, the Third Estate encountered a stalemate with the First and Second Estates. Because each Estate got one vote, the First and Second Estates could out-vote the Third 2-1. In Abbé Sieyès's pamphlet, *What is the Thirst Estate?*, he says, "We have three questions to ask: 1st. What is the Third Estate? Everything. 2nd. What has it been in the political order up to now? Nothing. 3rd. What does it demand? To become something."[35] This reflected the idea that the Third Estate made up the foundation of the nation. With these ideas in mind, the members of the Third Estate urged clergy who were like-minded to join them; and by June 19th, more than 100 clergy had taken seats in the Third Estate. On June 17th, at the insistence of Sieyès, the Third Estate declared the Estates-General to be dead, proclaimed itself to be the 'National Assembly' representing the nation, and invited the other two estates to join it.[36] The assertion and acceptance of the name 'National' for the Assembly strippe, the church, the monarchy, and the nobility of all legitimate authority or privilege, save what might be delegated or accorded to them by the representatives of the all-powerful nation.[37] On June 20th, the National Assembly found itself locked out of its regular meeting hall, and transferred to the indoor tennis courts where they swore the Tennis Court Oath, pledging not to allow themselves to be sent home until they had created a new constitution for France.[38]

Louis XVI's response was to call the army to disperse both the National Assembly and the crowds of Parisians that arose in response to military activity in Paris.

[35] Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, "What is the Third Estate"
[36] Owen Connelly and Fred Hembree, *The French Revolution*, 30.
[37] Geoffrey Best, *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy, 1789-1989*, 24.
[38] Jeremy D. Popkin, A Short History of the French Revolution, 30.

On July 14th, 1789, the people of Paris stormed the Bastille, looking for weapons. This was the first act of formal disobedience to the King by the people of France.

With the revolution came nationalist ideas. While there was a desire to keep the traditions and the culture of France, there was also a desire to break with parts of tradition. From this framework came a new political culture of unity and continuity. Constant references to the 'new;' the Nation, the community, and the general will, helped create a stronger sense of national purpose within France. These revolutionary values and emerging symbols became powerful because so many people from different parts of the nation began to act on them. They brought about a revolutionary culture that was distinct from that of the Ancient Regime.[39] These Revolutionary practices also incorporated the traditions of the large populations from the provinces that resided in Paris and surrounding cities. Revolutionary culture was unique in that it combined both urban and rural traditions.

Politics frequently reflect the current cultural and social climate; a changing Revolutionary culture was also reflected in a change in political thinking. Influence from Enlightenment thinkers, as well as the ideology of the American Revolution, came to bear upon politics at the beginning of the French Revolution. Some of the political and social questions that arose during the revolution were, how to balance the power of the individual within society, what that meant for society, and how does one reconcile a loss of individual freedom within the benefits of an established state.[40]

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[39] Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 123.
[40] Francois Furet*, Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 30.

Francois Furet saw the answers to these questions within Rousseau's writings. He saw the advancement of the general will as the solution to the problem of political justice: "For the general will presupposes the atomization of society into myriads of 'autarchic' individuals who communicate with each other only through the general will; the general will must also identify itself fully with each individual will, so that in obeying the general will each individual obeys only himself."[41] Rousseau's writings on the Social Contract reflect the social and political problem of individualism. If one submits to the will of another, or to that of a nation, then that person loses his/her individual will. They are submissive to the will of the other. However, Rousseau responds to this dilemma by saying that the will of a nation reflects the collective will of the population, so that the individual will is still expressed. By becoming part of the national consciousness, and adding the individual to the general, the will expressed is that of the good of the nation. "Each of us places his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will; and as one we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole."[42] Nationalism reflects the general will Rousseau writes about. Indeed, in Geoffrey Best's collection of essays, Connor O'Brian states that "the general will in question can only be that of the nation."[43] Without a unified national consciousness, the general will would not exist. As long as several men consider themselves to be a unified single body, they have a single will. This single will expresses the common preservation and well-being of the body.[44]

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[41] Ibid. 30.
[42] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "On the Social Contract" *The Basic Political Writings*. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987), 148.
[43] Geoffrey Best, 30
[44] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 203.

Furet also argues that Revolutionary ideology was not born so much in the Cahiers as through the political elections. While the Cahiers show the development of a national identity, the actual ideology of nationalism developed after the 1789 Revolution. There had to be a manifestation of the peoples' will.[45] This was provided by the balloting of 1789. It played a pivotal role in deciding which political figures would continue to influence the Revolution. Those who were elected had an important bearing, obviously, on the proceedings of the Revolution of 1789.

An important feature of the French Revolution was the role of social salons and journals. The salons of the social elite provided venues to discuss social and political issues, fashion, and literature. They were gatherings of writiers, *philosophes*, musicians, and artists, as well as members of the court and the clergy, and held in the homes of hostesses with some social finesse and financial means.[46] Among the salons, usually hosted by upper class women, there were subtle rivalries. Salons reflected the social and political opinions of their members, so naturally there were differences among them. The salons provided the aristocrats opportunities to speak and interact with writers, philosophers, and artists who would normally reside in separate social circles. "Madame du Deffard greatly admired Voltaire, whom she succeeded in attracting to her salon for many years. Twice a week Mme Geoffrin invited different guests: on Monday a salon of artists, architects, and sculptors, on Wednesday a salon of men of letters- Diederot, Alembert, Marivaux, Marmontel, abbé Reynal, Saint-Lambert, Holbach, and the comte

[45] Francois Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 43.
[46] Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 20.

de Caylus."[47] Topics varied widely, as shown by the differences in those invited to the salons. However, Pre-revolution, national ideals became a prominent topic and were promoted among intellectuals. They were the first to encourage the new public literary sphere that developed throughout the eighteenth century that was separate from the court.[48]

> Though the salons in no sense planned the Revolution, their analytical spirit and freedom from all sense of responsibility allowed the participants to imagine how things might be if circumstances could be altered. In sapping respect for established authorities and diminishing resignation, in bending the will of the administration to favor them, they corrupted the integrity of officialdom; that is, they compromised their loyalty to the regime and helped destroy it from above.[49]

On the eve of the Revolution, nationally-minded salons promoted nationalist thinking and material. They continued the criticisms of the monarchy and Catholic Church that were propagated during the Enlightenment. Because the hostesses, and occasionally hosts, of the salons were prominent figures in society, with prominent friends, they were able to influence the downfall of the monarchy.

Likewise, pamphlets and journals reflected the growing national ideology. Even the words increasingly used to express ideas about government and country show a striking change in loyalties and psychology. More and more, *la patrie* was used instead of *le pays*, *le citoyen* instead of *le sujet*, and *la nation* instead of *l'état*.[50] From these pamphlets emerged three fundamental ideas: "the idea of a declaration of rights, the conception of national sovereignty and the necessity of endowing France with a

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 156-157.
[49] Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*, 22.
[50] Boyd C. Shafer, "Bourgeois Nationalism in the Pamphlets on the Eve of the French Revolution" *The Journal of Modern History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 32.

constitution."[51] As a whole, these demands anticipated the response of the Third Estate to the political challenge of the privileged orders.[52] The pamphleteers realized that the old conception of a state made up of the king and his three classes of subjects no longer made sense. They knew that to achieve the new social order they desired, they needed a nation of citizens who realized that their own best interests lay in the national interest, and who would act in unison to achieve these interests.[53] Among these pamphlets was Sieyès' "What is the Third Estate."

The Abbé Emmanuel Sieyès also wrote about the social contract. In contrast to Rousseau, Sieyès assumed that the nation could not manifest itself directly, meaning that it could not become a nation-state naturally. That process required assistance. He stated that it must make itself heard, and proposed the National Assembly as this voice.[54] His theory of national unity also relied greatly on the idea that the delegates to the National Assembly were representative of the entire nation, not merely their own electoral districts. Otherwise, what would benefit one district might be detrimental to another.[55] He also took issue with the 'two-step system' as portrayed by Locke (consisting of the formation of the people, followed by the contractual establishment of government) and even with the idea of a contract existing between the government and the governed at all.[56] He argued that the national interest could only be located in and expressed by the Third Estate. He saw the other Estates as corrupt and virtually useless. He viewed the Third Estate as the embodiment of the nation.

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[51]Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution,* 47-48.
[52] Ibid, 48.
[53] Boyd C. Shafer, "Bourgeois Nationalism in the Pamphlets on the Eve of the French Revolution," 32.
[54] Chimene Ilona Robbins Keitner, *The Paradoxes of Nationalism: The French Revolution and its Meaning for Contemporary Nation Building*, 62.
[55]Ibid, 63.
[56] Ibid, 64.

> It suffices to have made the point that the so called usefulness of a privileged order to the public service is a fallacy-, that, without help from this order, all the arduous tasks in the service are performed by the Third Estate; that without this order the higher posts could be infinitely better filled; that they ought to be the natural prize and reward of recognized ability and service; and that if the privileged have succeeded in usurping all well-paid and honorific posts, this is both hateful iniquity towards the generality of citizens and an act of treason to the commonwealth. Who is bold enough to maintain that the Third Estate does not contain within itself everything needful to constitute a complete nation?[57]

The problem with excluding the First and Second Estates was that they held a majority of the wealth. Regardless of how hard the Third Estate worked, the wealth was needed to run the country. However, as the Third Estate made up a majority of the population of the nation, it did, in a sense, make up the nation itself. The Third Estate, especially in the areas surrounding Paris, made up some of the loudest proponents of nationalism. They made the strongest call for change within the state, and put the nation before all else.

Along with the cahiers, these revolutionary pamphlets constitute the best sources of information on the thinking of literate Frenchmen at the beginning of the Revolution. They reflected the nationalist ideology that would become important during the Revolution. "Written, for the most part, by the men who were to dominate in France during the revolutionary years to come, they at once simplified and popularized the philosophical ideas current in the eighteenth century and laid the ideological and practical basis for many of the debates and laws of the Constituent and, to a lesser extent, the later assemblies"[58] By examining publications dating from the Eve of the French Revolution, historians can compare the nationalist sentiment that was expressed there with the opinions that were expressed previously under the Ancien Régime.

[57] Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, "What is the Third Estate"
[58] Boyd C. Shafer, "Bourgeois Nationalism in the Pamphlets on the Eve of the French Revolution," 31.

The salons and pamphlets acted as an outlet for nationalist sentiment. They publicly promoted the national ideology that strongly influenced the French Revolution, and brought it into the public sphere. These political groups and publications reinforced the emerging ideas about the nation which were reflected in the culture through art and other public publications.

During the French Revolution, to be a nationalist also meant that one was a patriot. These two ideas, those of *nationalism* and *patriotism*, can often be confused. The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary defines *nationalism* as: "loyalty and devotion to a nation; *especially* a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups,"[59] while patriotism is defined there as: "love for or devotion to one's country,"[60] whether national or not. Nationalism was a more conscious devotion to a sovereign political community with a binding trait beyond just location, whereas patriotism was often expressed as an emotional attachment to a place that was thought of as 'home,' but more specifically, to the territorial entity whose rulers possessed final coercive authority over the persons who lived within it; in this case, first the kingdom of France, then the Republic.[61] Therefore, patriotism can be seen as an integral part of nationalism. However, being a patriot did not necessarily make one a nationalist. In the eighteenth century, the idea of nationalism was frequently associated

[59] "Nationalism." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Merriam-Webster, n.d. Web. Jan. 6, 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalism>.
[60] "Patriotism." *Merriam-Webster.com*. Merriam-Webster, n.d. Web. Jan. 6, 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/patriotism>.
[61] David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*, 20.

with excessive pride in one's nation, and prejudice against all others. Thus, nationalist sentiment was frequently expressed through patriotism.[62]

> When they defined the word 'patriotism,' the pamphleteers said they meant love of country and of fellow-citizens, and the desire that both they and France be prosperous and happy. Specifically, however, to them a patriot was a citizen who, loving his country and countrymen, wished to make his country great and his countrymen happy through the well-known reforms. Patriotism, in fact, had become synonymous with reform, and to be called 'patriotic' was becoming the greatest honor to which men might aspire.[63]

A French *patriote* was a full-blown nationalist, setting his own nation above all other nations, and contemplating it with feelings bordering on adoration.[64] Patriotism was something to which all good citizensp aspired. To be considered a patriot in the French Revolution was to be respected. Patriots were often the leading figures of the Revolution. They showed great love for and devotion to their country. Nationalist sentiment can be seen in the efforts to plan a government that would make the nation great. In France, the nationalism expressed through patriotism was aimed at uniting a nation with a government that was in the interests of the people, and not for the personal gains of a monarch.

In August of 1789, the National Assembly declared the abolition of feudalism and decreed the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen." This document asserted that men are born and remain free and equal in rights.[65] It also showed the strong nationalist leanings of the National Assembly: "The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation. No body and no individual may exercise authority which does not emanate

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[62] Otto Dann, and John Dinwiddy, *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution*, 3.
[63] Boyd C. Shafer, "Bourgeois Nationalism in the Pamphlets on the Eve of the French Revolution," 33.
[64] Geoffrey Best, *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy*, 38.
[65] "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" 1789. Accessed from: http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/295/. Jan. 7, 2014.

expressly from the nation."[66] It hailed the nation as the all-powerful entity from which authority and privilege extended. The Declaration also echoed Rousseau's ideas about the general will.

> The law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to take part, in person or by their representatives, in its formation. It must be the same for everyone whether it protects or penalizes. All citizens being equal in its eyes are equally admissible to all public dignities, offices, and employments, according to their ability, and with no other distinction than that of their virtues and talents.[67]

Rousseau's writings on a general will that represented the needs of the people went hand in hand with the National Assembly's idea of a nation that was in the interests of its citizens. The Declaration gave France the foundation for a nation in which all people were equal, regardless of station, and would be treated as such in the eyes of the law. It provided for a nation that was not based on religion or an absolutist monarch- which was revolutionary in a state which had previously held the belief that the monarch's right to rule came directly from God. Instead, France would have a state where power came from the nation itself, i.e. the people.

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

Chapter Two: Rhetoric of the Revolution

During the French Revolution of 1789, and under the subsequent Republic, rhetoric played a major role in supporting nationalist sentiment. Men such as the Compte de Mirabeau, Georges Jacques Danton, and Maximilien Marie Isidore de Robespierre often spoke in support of the new nation, extolling the virtues of France and the French people. As orators in the government, their speeches often influenced the laws and policies that were passed. National sentiment was often expressed in these speeches, and as the government became more and more radical, national sentiment was often used as a justification for the drastic measures taken by the government.

The Constituent Assembly and the Legislative Assembly included many distinguished orators. Among them were Mirabeau, Vergniaud, Barère, Danton, and Robespierre. The speeches were generally thoroughly planned and written down before being expressed in the meetings. The care that was invested in the composition of the speeches has made them valuable specimens of French literature.[68] Great importance was placed on the eloquence of the speakers who were able to sway the opinions of the people. During the Legislative Assembly, it was the eloquence of the Girondins which plunged France into war with her neighbors.[69]

After the overthrow of the Girondins in 1793, the establishment of the Convention showed a decline of oratorical style. H. Morse Stephens argues that the height of

[68] H. Morse Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795*, Vol. 1, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 16.
[69] Ibid, 31.

oratorical style was during the Legislative Assembly of 1791-1792, but that the leaders who had pushed France into war proved unable to retain control.[70]

Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Compte de Mirabeau, has frequently been considered to be the greatest orator of the Constituent Assembly. According to J. M. Thompson, if the term 'leader' has any application during the period, it is to Mirabeau.[71] He found employment for his talent and character as a hired propagandist under the Ancien Regime before establishing himself as a leader of the Revolution. He acted as a bridge between the nobility and the common people. "Who could speak for the new elite before the still young "nation"? Who was both enough of a democrat and enough of an aristocrat to lower the flag of tradition before the flag of the Revolution? Mirabeau was the only noble sufficiently déclassé, and the only déclassé sufficiently noble, to join the past with what was happening now."[72] He was unique in the fact that he could traverse the lines between the nobility and the lower class, and as a result, find a common interest of both groups. Perhaps this is a result of his pock-marked complexion and notoriously disorderly personal life, as he was arrested for abducting his mistress, the wife of a neighboring nobleman.[73] Mirabeau's speeches left an imprint on the Revolution that is unrivaled by other orators.

Mirabeau was a royalist, but one who believed that the authority of the Crown should rest on the sovereignty of the people.[74] He thought that a strong monarch would be

[70] Ibid, 37-38.
[71] J. M. Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), 19.
[72] Francois Furet and Mona Ozouf, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1989), 268.
[73] J.M. Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution*, 20.
[74] Ibid, 25.

the safeguard of the nation when an assembly was charged with making the law.[75] The monarch would provide a balance to the power of the assembly, and this would help to "nationalize" the monarchy.[76] Mirabeau wanted a balanced government, one that relied on reason and that ruled in the interests of the French nation. "For it is the development of reason that nature has given the eternal destiny of societies; and reason alone can make laws binding and durable; and reason and the law alone should govern human society."[77] In his speech "On the Name to Be Assumed by the Assembly," given over the course of two meetings on the 15th and 16th of June 1789, Mirabeau, like many of the Enlightenment thinkers, saw reason and rational thinking as the basis for government. Only laws that were based in reason would appeal to the people and be successful. Mirabeau called for the name of the assembly to be Representatives of the French People,[78] because that is what the assembly was: those elected to represent the French people. However, opposition to the word 'people' caused discord within the assembly, to which Mirabeau replied: "This title I have proposed, that you disapprove of, has no disadvantage to apply to anyone other than us, we will fight with anyone. Representatives of the French People! What title for men who, like you, love the people who feel like you, they are the people!"[79] He went on to say that, if explained in the same way as the

[75] Francois Furet and Mona Ozouf, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 270.
[76] Ibid.
[77] H. Morse. Stephens, The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795, Vol. 1, 62. The translations in this paper are my own as the speeches in this compilation are all in French. As I do not profess to be fluent in eighteenth century French, I must acknowledge that it is likely not a perfect translation, and provide the original versions within the footnotes. « Car c'est aux développements de la raison que la nature a remis la destinée éternelle des sociétés ; et la raison seule peut faire des lois obligatoires et durables ; et la raison et la loi seules doivent gouverner l'homme en société. »
[78] Ibid, 65.
[79] Ibid. 76.

Latin *populus*, it is synonymous with *nation*.[80] Mirabeau expressed his desire for the nation to be under the sovereignty of the French people, represented by the assembly. His proposed title, Representatives of the French People, reflected this purpose, and would act as a reminder of the purpose of the assembly.

Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud was one of the Girondin party's greatest orators. Born in Limousin, but Parisian by education, he received his training at the bar in Bordeaux; and so was free from a sense of local patriotism, and this enabled him to fully believe in the unity of the French Republic.[81] Vergniaud was like many of the other orators of the Revolution, in that he carefully composed his speeches before giving them. His speech "On the Situation of France" given on the 3rd of July 1792, roused the patriotism and excited the eloquence of all true Frenchmen.[82] He brought them to an awareness of the imminent danger from the war and the discredited King Louis XVI.

> It is in the King's name that freedom is under attack, and if it were possible to reverse it, to dismember the empire to recoup the costs of the allied powers; for the generosity of kings we know, we know with what disinterestedness they send their armies to a foreign land, and to what extent we can believe they exhaust their treasures to support a war that should not benefit them.[83]

He basically blamed the King for the war by saying that it was in his name. By discrediting the king, Vergniaud gathered support for the Legislative Assembly. He went

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[80] Ibid, 79. « Le titre que je vous propose, ce titre que vous réprouvez, n'a point l'inconvénient de s'appliquer à d'autres qu'à nous, il ne nous sera dispute par personne. *Les Représentants du Peuple Français* ! Quel titre pour des hommes qui, comme vous, aiment le peuple, qui sentent, comme vous, ce qu'ils doivent au peuple ! »

[81] H. Morse Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795*, Vol. 1, 243.

[82] Ibid, 297.

[83] Ibid, 307. « C'est *au nom du Roi* que la liberté est attaquée, et que, si l'on parvenait à la renverser, on démembrerait bientôt l'empire pour en indemniser de leurs frais les puissances coalisées ; car on connait la générosité de rois, on sait avec quel désintéressement ils envoient leurs armées pour désoler une terre étrangère, et jusqu'à quel point on peut croire qu'ils épuiseraient leurs trésors pour soutenir une guerre que ne devrait pas leur être profitable. »

on to call for popular support of the assembly in the face of the threat from foreign powers:

> The Defenders of the Constitution have been repulsed by the Department; the reins of the empire were floating home at random, at the moment where, to support them, there should be as much force as patriotism. Everywhere it foments discord; bigotry triumphs. Rather than take a firm and patriotic, who saves him from the turmoil, the Government can be carried away by stormy winds waving; its mobility inspires contempt to foreign powers; the audacity of those who formed against us armed and irons cools the benevolence of the people who make secret wishes for the triumph of freedom.[84]

The support of the people who wished for the success of freedom was ever important. It was upon them that the fate of the nation fell. Their support gave the Legislative Assembly its power to govern. It is upon this people that Vergniaud called in his speech, "On the Appeal to the People," on the 31st of December 1792. He wished to bring the responsibility of judging Louis XVI to the people, and not just have it rest upon the Legislative Assembly. If the people called for the king's condemnation, then it would be the wish of the French nation, not just a select few. He opened his speech with "Citizens, in such an important issue by his intimate relations with the public tranquility and national glory, it is important not to take passions for principles, or the movements of his soul for general safety measures."[85] He admonished the people not to assume that the king acted in their best interests. The trial and judgment of a king was extremely important, and as such, had to be done in the interests of the nation. He instructed the

[84] Ibid, 314. « Les défenseurs de la Constitution ont été repousses du ministère ; les rênes de l'empire ont demeure flottantes au hasard, à l'instant où, pour les soutenir, il fallait autant de vigueur que de patriotisme. Partout on fomente la discorde ; le fanatisme triomphe. Au lieu de prendre une direction ferme et patriotique, qui le sauve de la tourmente, le gouvernement se laisse emporter par les vents orageux qui l'agitent ; sa mobilité inspire du mépris aux puissances étrangères ; l'audace de celles qui vomissent contre nous des armées et des fers refroidit la bienveillance des peuples, qui font des vœux secrets pour le triomphe de la liberté. »

[85] Ibid, 327. "Citoyens, dans une question aussi importante par ses relations intimes avec la tranquillette publique et la gloire nationale, il importe de ne pas prendre des passions pour des principes, ou les mouvements de son âme pour des mesures de sureté générale. »

Legislative Assembly that, "You, citizens, you are at once agents of the people and their representatives; your wish, particularly is always assumed an expression of the general will, although not yet clear; and it is this presumption which, by its strength, the need to submit a formal or tacit ratification."[86] He reminded them that they represented the will of the people. Frequently in this speech he addressed the Legislative Assembly as "Citoyens," or citizens. Because this particular speech was about the representation and opinion of the people, he frequently reminded the Legislative Assembly that they, too, were citizens. This speech was designed to bring out the nationalist sentiment within the Legislative Assembly. Vergniaud closed his speech with, "If you are faithful, you will not incur any reproach; and if the people want the death of Louis, they may direct it. If, instead, you violate it, you will incur at least the reproaches that spread your duty. And what a fearful responsibility this deviation does not weigh it on your heads! I have nothing more to say,"[87] once again, reminding the representatives of the people that they are just that; representatives of the people. He proclaimed that they should listen to and follow the will of the people of France on the trial of their king, and that if they did not fulfill their duties, the tide of public opinion would turn against them. In a way, this foreshadows the fall of Vergniaud and the Girondin party. While they commanded the majority, the Girondins proved unable to restore order to France, or to secure success for the armies on the frontier. When this unfitness to govern lost them the majority, they

[86] Ibid, 329. « Vous, citoyens, vous êtes tout à la fois et mandataires du peuple et ses représentants ; votre vœu, particulier est toujours présume l'expression du vœu général, quoique non encore manifeste ; et s'est précisément cette présomption, qui, en faisant sa force, le soumet à la nécessite d'une ratification formelle ou tacite. »

[87] Ibid, 345. « Si vous y êtes fideles, vous n'encourrez aucun reproche ; et si le peuple veut la mort de Louis, il l'ordonnera. Si, au contraire, vous les violez, vous encourrez au moins les reproches de vous être écartes de votre devoir. Et quelle effrayante responsabilité cette déviation ne fait-elle pas peser sur vos tètes ! Je n'ai plus rien à dire. »

entered into a struggle with the Montagnards (radical Jacobin deputies) that they had no hope of winning.[88]

Bertrand Barère was an important orator of the National Convention of 1792-1795, elected after the fall of the Girondins in 1793. He was a member of the relatively moderate Centre or Plain. He was skilled at seizing the views of others and developing them more clearly. Facility and fluency were his greatest gifts.[89] In his "Report on the State of the Nation," given on the 1st of August 1793, Barère addressed the desire of the Convention to hand over executive authority to a small committee. He opened the speech with "Citizens, the true representatives of the people have seen for a long time with undaunted courage to form the unholy conspiracy which, from one end of Europe to another, a threat to overthrow the freedom and the inalienable rights of the French Nation."[90] The representatives of the people were the members of the Convention who protected the nation from the threats of royalism. Barère saw the monarchies of Europe as a threat to the freedom gained in the Revolution. "Citizens, you have the confidence of the people; you must have awareness of your strengths: it is a great work that the foundation of a republic, and your souls shall be inaccessible to despondency as to fear."[91] He encouraged the representatives that they were building the government for the Republic. They had the support of the people in these efforts as the Republic was based on the sovereignty of the people. Barère recognized the importance of the will of the

[88] Ibid, 246.
[89] H. Morse Stephens, The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795, Vol. 2, 1.
[90] Ibid, 10. « Citoyens, Les vrais représentants du people ont vu depuis longtemps avec un courage imperturbable se former la conjuration impie qui, d'une extrémité de l'Europe à l'autre, a menace de renverser la liberté et les droits imprescriptibles de la Nation Française. »
[91] Ibid, 13. « Citoyens, vous avez la confiance du peuple ; vous devez avoir la conscience de vos forces : c'est un grand œuvre que la fondation d'une République, et vos âmes doivent être inaccessibles au découragement comme à la crainte. »

people in the government of the nation, and relayed that importance in his speech by reminding the Convention of the source of their power. Without the people who made up the nation, and elected the representatives, the Convention would have no need to turn power over to the committee.

Georges Jacques Danton was a lawyer who would become one of the most prominent leaders of the French Revolution. He was a different type of Revolutionary than Mirabeau, Vergniaud, and Barère, and though he could boast a classical education, and had a career in Paris and the bar; though he kept en excellent library and could quote the classics, he remained a "countryman" at heart.[92] T. M. Thompson sees his countryman sensibilities as both a benefit as well as a reason for his downfall. Danton also became the leader of the most revolutionary districts of Paris.[93] He was a prominent face within the Revolution, but he would not rise to power until he was elected Minister of Justice by the Legislative Assembly in August of 1792, which began the most glorious period of Danton's life.[94] In his speeches, one discovers an overriding patriotic longing to see France triumph over her enemies and establish a strong executive government.[95] According to Mona Ozouf, "Above all, he was seen as the defender of the endangered fatherland, who sought to mobilize the nation's energies to combat the enemy… Danton's eloquence worked miracles because the least threat to the fatherland brought the orator to his feet."[96] This loyalty to, and desire to defend, the nation is evident in two of Danton's speeches, "On Revolutionary Measures" and his "Second Speech on

[92] J. M. Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution*, 115-116.
[93] Ibid, 118
[94] H. Morse Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795*, Vol. 2, 161.
[95] Ibid, 162.
[96] Francois Furet and Mona Ozouf, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 218.

Revolutionary Measures." Danton supported any and all measures that he believed would strengthen and protect the nation, including the executive power of the Committee for Public Safety, and many of which established the Reign of Terror, or Jacobin era.[97]

Danton's speeches were unlike any of the other orators of the Revolution. They were not carefully planned out and written down; they were improvised, spur of the moment. As H. Morse Stephens says in his introduction to Danton's speeches,

> They are not models of style; they are not composed with rhetorical accuracy; they contain no balanced periods, no carefully selected words and passages… he repeats his arguments and his words; and his style is brusque and rough rather than polished. But yet they have extraordinary merits. They seem to come red-hot from his thoughts… they abound in the straightforward eloquence of the heart.[98]

This style of speaking was unique in the assemblies, but also unique to Danton. He inspired fire within the hearts of those who heard him that was beyond the ability of the prepared speeches. The emotion and drive behind his speeches heavily influenced their reception and impact upon his listeners.

On the 28th of August 1792 Danton delivered his speech, "On Revolutionary Measures," in which he said, "It is necessary that the Assembly be worthy of the nation. It is through a convulsion that we overthrew despotism; it is only by great national convulsion that we will demote despots… It is time to tell the people that they should rush together on the enemies."[99] He thus threw the rebellious aspects of the Revolution into a form of empowerment. Danton saw the Revolution as an upheaval against the

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[97] H. Morse Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795*, Vol. 2, 163.
[98] Ibid, 165-166.
[99] Ibid, 168-169. « Il faut que l'Assemblée se montre digne de la nation. C'est par une convulsion que nous avons renversé le despotisme ; ce n'est que par une grande convulsion nationale que nous ferons rétrograder les despotes. »

monarchy, the enemy, and believed that the only way to defeat the enemies of the Republic was to "overthrow" them, much as had been done to King Louis XVI.

In his "Second Speech on Revolutionary Measures," given on the 2nd of September 1792, Danton issued a call to arms.

> The Commissioners of the Town will proclaim in a solemn manner, the invitation for citizens to arm themselves and march to the defense of the homeland. It is in this moment, gentlemen, you can declare the capital well worth the whole France. It is at this point that the National Assembly will become a real war committee.[100]

He believed that the people should defend their homeland, and that the government should enable, and support, them in those efforts. By calling upon the people to defend their homeland, he sought to rouse their love and dedication to their *patrie*. He wanted them to be so devoted to their nation that they would willingly, if not happily, defend her against her enemies. "The alarm bell will not sound an alarm, it is the charge on the enemies of the country. To overcome them, we need audacity, more audacity, always audacity, and France is saved."[101]

Despite his influence and dedication to France, Danton fell victim to the Terror. He was easy going, and did not care overly much about how his reputation appeared to the more straight-laced revolutionaries like Robespierre.[102] His motto was "Périsse mon réputation plutôt que ma patrie"[103] (Perish my reputation rather than my homeland). He valued the nation above even his own life. The irony of his imprisonment and execution

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[100] Ibid, 170. « Les commissaires de la Commune vont proclamer, d'une manière solennelle, l'invitation aux citoyens de s'armer et de marcher pour la défense de la patrie. C'est en ce moment, messieurs, que vous pouvez déclarer que la capitale a bien mérite de la France entière. C'est en ce moment que l'Assemblée Nationale va devenir un véritable comite de guerre. »
[101] Ibid. « Le tocsin qu'on va sonner n'est point un signal d'alarme, c'est la charge sur les ennemis de la patrie. Pour les vaincre, il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace, et la France est sauvée. »
[102] J. M. Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution*, 128.
[103] Ibid, 134.

lies in the fact that he was not imprisoned because he had done something wrong, but because of what he *might* do. He was a threat because of his ability to arouse people's emotions. As a result, Danton was not given a chance to defend himself at his own trial; he was not even allowed to speak, and was executed, by guillotine, at the foot of a great plaster statue of Liberty.[104]

The posthumous defense of Danton also acted as an indictment of his judges, and inevitably becomes a comparison of Danton and Robespierre. The Dantonists saw this comparison of Robespierre to Danton as sickly to strong, suspicious to generous, feminine to masculine, abstract to concrete, written to oral, and deadly systematizer to lively improviser.[105]

Maximilien Marie Isidore de Robespierre is perhaps the best-known leader of the French Revolution of 1789, remembered for his prominent role in the, so-called, Reign of Terror. He was not the Terror's sole author, but merely one of twelve on the Committee of Public Safety who led during this Jacobin era. However, where Mirabeau played a large role in the Constituent Assembly, and Danton embodied the spirit of national defense, Robespierre's life was often considered to embody the whole of the Revolution.[106] Thompson states that Robespierre's success was not because of his manner, which was cold, nor his style, which was academic, nor his voice, which was weak and unpleasing, but because of the uncompromising sincerity of his opinions.[107] He was a champion of the people, promoting their claims in the Legislative Assembly. "He could make common people feel that they were part of a great army, fighting for a

[104] Ibid, 132.
[105] Francois Furet and Mona Ozouf, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 214.
[106] J. M. Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution*, 215.
[107] Ibid, 219.

glorious cause; because he appealed to their taste for vague and romantic ideals; because he flattered their belief in their innate cleverness and virtue."[108] He knew how to address his audience so as to produce the greatest effect, speaking to the galleries of the common people who attended the meetings of the government.

Robespierre's speech "On Property, with a Projected Declaration of the Rights of Man," given on the 24th of April 1793, is important as it shows the abstract ideas, mainly derived from a careful study of Rousseau's works, which he approved as the basis of satisfactory government in ordinary times.[109]

> I propose to reform the vices dedicating the following truths: I. The property is the right of every citizen to enjoy and dispose of the portion of property that is guaranteed to him by law. II. The right to property is limited, like all others, by the obligation to respect the rights of others. III. It does not prejudice nor liberty, nor the existence, or ownership of our fellowmen. IV. Any possession, any traffic that violates this principle is illegal and immoral.[110]

He reflects the values of the Enlightenment thinkers on property. Every citizen of the nation had the right to property, but those rights did not extend to the point where they encroached on others' rights. There had to be a balance between the freedom of the people and the laws of society that they were expected to follow. Robespierre reportedly wrote in his private notebook, « Il faut une volonté une » (A will is required), by which he referred, not to 'the will of one,' but to 'one will,' and that was the will of the people.[111] He goes on to say that, "Men of all countries are brothers, and different people

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[108] Ibid, 220.
[109] H. Morse Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795*, Vol. 2, 367.
[110] Ibid, 368. « Je vous propose de reformer ces vices en consacrant les vérités suivantes: I. La propriété est le droit qu'a chaque citoyen de jouir et de disposer de la portion de biens qui lui est garantie par la loi. II. Le droit de propriété est borné, comme tous les autres, par l'obligation de respecter les droits d'autrui. III. Il ne peut préjudicier ni à la liberté, ni à l'existence, ni à la propriété de nos semblables. IV. Toute possession, tout trafic qui viole ce principe est illicite et immoral. »
[111] J. M. Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution*, 229.

must help each other according to their power as citizens of the same State,"[112] and "He who oppresses the nation declares himself an enemy of all."[113] In these statements, Robespierre justifies the war, and the spread of French revolutionary ideas. He thought that all states would benefit from the changes brought about in France by the Revolution. Likewise, governments that opposed or disapproved of revolutionary France were her enemies.

In the section on the projected new Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, Robespierre addressed the sovereignty of the people by stating that, "The people are the sovereign: the government is its work and its property, public servants are its clerks."[114] Despite the fact that the government issued the laws and rules that French society had to follow, the people were the root of that authority. Ultimately, authority in France rested upon the people. Robespierre enforced this with article XXII, "But any act against freedom, against the safety or against the property of a man, exercised by anyone, even in the name of the law, of cases determined by it, are arbitrary and invalid; the same respect for the law forbids us to submit, and if you want to execute it by violence, it is permissible to use force."[115] Even the government was forbidden from encroaching on people's rights. However, those who did encroach on other people's rights, even if it was the government, were subject to strict punishments, even the use of violence.

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[112] H. Morse Stephens, *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution 1789-1795*, Vol. 2, 369. « Les hommes de tous les pays sont frères, et les différents peuples doivent s'entr'aider selon leur pouvoir comme les citoyens du même Etat. »
[113] Ibid. « Celui qui opprime une nation se déclare l'ennemie de toutes. »
[114] Ibid, 372. « Le peuple est le souverain : le gouvernement est son ouvrage et sa propriete, les fonctionnaires publics sont ses commis. »
[115] Ibid, 372-373. « Mais tout acte contre la liberté, contre la sureté ou contre la propriété d'un homme, exerce par qui que ce soit, même au nom de la loi, hors des cas détermines par elle, et des formes qu'elle prescrit, est arbitraire et nul ; le respect même de la loi défend de s'u soumettre, et si l'on veut l'exécuter par violence, il est permis de le repousser par la force. »

To Robespierre, this justified implementation of the Terror. The only way to ensure that the public did not violate people's rights was to control it. He justified terror as "merely prompt, severe, and inflexible justice. It is therefore an emanation of virtue- it does not spring from a source of its own, but results from the application of democracy to the most pressing needs of the nation."[116] It was the fear of repercussion that kept people within the law. He justified the Terror by saying that it was in the best interests of the nation, and therefore, of the people.

As Robespierre embodied the French Revolution, it would make sense that his death was also the death of the Revolution.[117] He was aware of the very imminent possibility of death; he had seen leaders before him brought down by their opposition. He gave himself fully to the Revolution, and in his turn, was swept away by it. The failure of the Committee to control the Terror ultimately brought it to its end.

Despite some of the more drastic policies that came out of the National and Legislative Assemblies, one of the most important occurrences was the change of tone that accompanied the Revolution. Previously, those in positions of power had looked down on the people, and even the lesser nobles were considered inferior. The Revolution of 1789 brought about a more intimate, even friendly tone of communication, which is evident in the many speeches produced during this period[118]. This friendly and egalitarian communication inspired confidence among the people in their representatives. It was even endorsed officially by the universal adoption of the familiar 'tu' form, without any

[116] J. M. Thompson, *Leaders of the French Revolution*, 231.
[117] Francois Furet and Mona Ozouf, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 298.
[118] Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*, 301.

trace of condescension.[119] This form of familiar address assisted the breakdown of the wall between the aristocracy and the common people, and helped to establish equality among all the people of the nation.

[119] Ibid.

Chapter Three: Policies and Constitutions

While the orators discussed legislation and decisions to be made, those laws that were passed, and those constitutions that were ratified, constitute an important aspect of the national character of the Revolution. The Constitution of 1791, for example, proposed an oath to the nation. The Propagandist Decrees of 1792 marked a turning point in the history of the French nation; it marked the beginning of an armed crusade to assist those in other countries who supposedly wished for freedom from existing regimes.[120]

Like Mirabeau, the Constitution of 1791 supported the continued rule of the king. In Title III, Articles 3 though 5, it designated the division of power within the government, creating an executive, legislative, and judicial branch, thereby checking the absolute power of the king.

> 3. The legislative power is delegated to a National Assembly, composed of temporary representatives freely elected by the people, to be exercised by it, with the sanction of the King, in the manner hereinafter determined. 4. The government is monarchical; the executive power is delegated to the King, to be exercised, under his authority, by ministers and other responsible agents in the manner hereinafter determined. 5. The judicial power is delegated to judges who are elected at stated times by the people.[121]

The separation of the branches, and public election of the legislative and judicial branches, provided for a balance of power within government. Rather than having one man who created the laws and then judged on them, it created a larger circle of individuals who divided duties among them. The Constitution also made a point that the

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[120] John Hall Stewart, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), 381.
[121] Ibid, 234.

legislative body could not be dissolved by the King[122], as the dissolution of the Estates-General had led to tension and cries for representation of the people leading up to the Revolution.

The Constitution of 1791 also eliminated all legal exemptions, whether for the nobility or clergy.[123] It provided for legal equality for all Frenchmen. However, to qualify as a citizen of the nation, one had to take the Civic oath: "I swear to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the King, and to maintain with all my power the Constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the National Constituent Assembly in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791."[124] The writers of the Constitution made it quite clear that in revolutionary France, the nation came before the King. A citizen had to be loyal to the nation above all, for without the loyalty of all her citizens, France would fall into violent chaos again.

The First Propagandist Decree, ratified on the 19th of November 1792, proclaimed that France was willing to assist other states that wished to gain their freedom.

> The National Convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that it will grant fraternity and aid to all peoples who wish to recover their liberty; and it charges the executive power with giving the generals the orders necessary for bringing aid to such peoples and for defending citizens who have been, or who might be, harassed for the cause of liberty.[125]

This changed the direction of French nationalism. The leaders of the National Convention felt that all people deserved the liberty that the French had found. By volunteering to aid those countries that wished to overturn their governments, the Convention alarmed several European states, who saw this declaration as a threat.

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[122] Ibid, 235.
[123] Ibid, 231.
[124] Ibid, 233.
[125] Ibid, 381.

The Second Propagandist Decree of the 15th of December 1792 provided a more practical version of the First Decree. It outlined the decision of the National Convention, and shows a Montagnard-influenced policy. It provided for the countries that were, or would soon be, occupied by the army of the Republic to be under the protection of said army.[126] Upon the liberation of a country or area, the general of the army was to inform the people of their new status.

> Henceforth the French nation proclaims the sovereignty of the people, the suppression of all civil and military authorities which have governed you up to the present… the abolition of the tithe, of feudalism, of seigneurial rights, both feudal and *cesuel*, fixed or contingent, of *banalités*, of real and personal servitude, of hunting and fishing privileges, of *corvées*, of the *gabelle*, of tolls, of *octrois*, and generally of every species of contributions with which you have been burdened by your usurpers… You are henceforth, brothers and friends, all citizens, all equal in rights, and all equally summoned to govern, to serve, and to defend your *Patrie*.[127]

It is interesting that the National Convention felt it had the power to decide upon the terms of this liberation. After the revolution, the representatives of the people of France decided upon the new laws and government of France. With this document, however, the National Convention would also decide the fate of other countries without their input. They viewed the French nation as above all others. The leaders of the National Convention seemed inclined to think that they were uniquely qualified to instruct these other nations as to their rights and freedoms.

The Proclamation of the Convention to the People of France, given the 23rd of January 1793, was simultaneously an excuse for the execution of the King and an appeal for the continued support of the Revolution. This proclamation has many similarities with Vergniaud's speech "On the Appeal to the People," in which he wanted to give sole

[126] Ibid, 382.
[127] Ibid, 384.

responsibility for the trial, and eventual execution, of the king to the people. The Proclamation of the Convention to the French People begins with "Citizens, the tyrant is no more. For a long time the cries of the victims, whom war and domestic dissension have spread over France and Europe, loudly protested his existence. He has paid his penalty, and only acclamations for the Republic and for liberty have been heard from the people."[128] By intimating that the people were responsible for the execution of the king, and that they were happy about it, the National Convention distributed blame between themselves (who actually declared and carried out the sentence) and the people (who were only indirectly involved). Because the execution was for the French people, not just a bid for personal power, it marked a definitive end to the monarchical revolution, and the establishment of a representative Republic.

The Constitution of 1793, given on the 4th of December 1793 (according to the Revolutionary calendar: 14th Frimaire, Year II) basically established the Committee of Public Safety as the head of the government. In Section 2, the Execution of the Laws, it states that, "1. The National Convention is the sole motive center of the Government. 2. All constituted bodies and public functionaries are placed under the immediate inspection of the Committee of Public Safety for measures of government and public safety."[129] The Committee of Public Safety basically had control of the implementation and enforcement of laws and regulations put forth by the National Convention. These public authorities and functionaries were forbidden from making proclamations that were not authorized by the Committee. The Constitution of the 1793 provided for national agents responsible for overseeing the local enforcement and implementation of laws, and required to maintain

[128] Ibid, 392.
[129] Ibid, 482.

regular correspondence with the Committee.[130] This consolidation of power within the Committee of Public Safety was rationalized by the need for a strong, decisive government during wartime, which was for the good of the nation.

The war was enabled by massive call to arms that was the *levy en masse*, instituted by the Decree Establishing the Levy *en masse*, 23rd of August 1793. The levy *en masse* introduced military conscription into the new French Republic. The 'French people' were placed at the disposal of the armed forces, where young, single men were expected to serve in battle, while married men, women, children, and the elderly were supposed to provide various kinds of economic, logistical, and moral support.[131] The *patrie* was portrayed as in danger, and the people of France were mobilized for their own defense. Without the levy, it would have been unlikely that France would have been able to sustain, let alone be successful in the war against Austria, Prussia, Britain, Spain and Holland.

> Henceforth, until the enemies have been driven from the territory of the Republic, the French people are in permanent requisition for army services. The young men shall go to battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothes, and shall serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn old linen into lint; the old men shall repair to the public places, to stimulate the courage of the warriors and preach the unity of the Republic and hatred of kings.[132]

The Decree Establishing the Levy *en masse* made no class distinctions. In the eyes of the government, all people were equal. Young men of all classes were expected to join the army, and if they were not able to join, they were expected to assist like all the other men,

[130] Ibid, 484-485.
[131] Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, *The People in Arms, Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, Chapters 1-3, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.
[132] John Hall Stewart, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, 472-473.

women, and children were doing. This was perceived as equal and fair to those concerned.[133]

[133] Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, *The People in Arms, Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, 15.

Chapter Four: Nationalism and the Military

With the French Revolution, the Royal Army almost collapsed, as thousands of aristocratic officers resigned. When France declared war on Austria and Prussia in April of 1792, something had to be done. The French filled their army with untrained recruits and hundreds of volunteer units of varying levels of proficiency.[134] At the onset of the war, most French people saw compulsory military service as tyrannical. But the timing of the introduction of the levy *en masse* was instrumental in its success. Compulsory military service was idealized as a form of personal virtue, and an attempt to legislate a kind of psychological adaptation that, in the past, had only existed as a social process.[135] Those who served were glorified as heroes of the nation. "The first mass army depended ultimately upon a political revolution whose ideology, redolent of nationalism, stressed the equality and community of all Frenchmen."[136] Without the French Revolution, mass conscription like the levy *en masse* would have continued to be regarded with distaste.

The Republic's first attempts at conscription were less than stellar. The Decree for a Levy of 300,000 Men on the 24th of February, 1793, aroused bitter resentment. For the first time, the government introduced quotas to reflect the local populations, demanding that each department, each district, and even each town and village should produce an

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[134] Steven T. Ross, *French Military History, 1661-1799: A Guide to the Literature* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), 171.
[135] Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, *The People in Arms, Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, 2.
[136] Barry R. Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power" *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 80-124, (The MIT Press, 1993), 83.

appropriate number of men for the army.[137] Many of those men chosen to serve were those who were marginalized by society, like shepherds, the poor, and migrant workers. It was not until a year later that the Republic was able to raise a successful batch of conscripts.

> It was the boldness of the patriotic vision of August 1793, not just the tactical proficiency of the army it engendered, that explains the power of the myth of its durability. The clarion call was nationalism and the obligation of every citizen to render service to the nation, a principle welcomed for its own sake by revolutionary militants, especially the leadership of the Paris sections and the Jacobin Club, where it immediately acquired far reaching ideological significance.[138]

In contrast to the attempted levies that preceded it, the levy *en masse* did not base itself upon traditional categories of social distinction. As the Decree Establishing the Levy *en masse* showed, all people in the Republic had a role to play. It relied upon nationalism to stir the people's blood to rise to the defense of the fatherland.

The simple principle of the levy *en masse* was that the nation was the sovereign authority in the French Republic, and the nation had the right to demand the performance of military service as one of the fundamental duties implicit in the enjoyment of citizenship.[139] According to Steven T. Ross, because of the levy, the size of the army grew from about 150,000 in 1789 to over one million by late 1794.[140]

The government also felt compelled to nationalize the economy and establish price, wage, import, and export controls. It established its own arms factories, in which the men who did not go to war worked, and compelled private entrepreneurs to produce

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[137] Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, *The People in Arms, Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, 12.
[138] Ibid, 13.
[139] Ibid, 8.
[140] Steven T. Ross, *French Military History, 1661-1799: A Guide to the Literature*, 171.

items required for the war effort at fixed prices.[141] Despite the fact that the supply system was often haphazard and the soldiers constantly faced shortages of one kind or another, they stayed motivated and tolerated their positions fairly well, without resorting to mutiny or massive desertion.[142]

Military symbolism played an important role in the success of the levy, especially when that symbolism was so painstakingly integrated into that of the nation.[143] The introduction of the motto, "liberty, equality, fraternity,"[144] was used as a tool to bind Frenchmen, especially within the army. This motto was reflected in the revised tricolor flag that was officially adopted by the revolutionaries in 1794. The vertical blue, white, and red stripes of the flag were believed by many to stand for one of the three values of the revolution, and it was used by the common people, the military, and the navy alike to symbolize the unity of the nation.[145]

> Many other nations, especially in Europe, adopted tricoloured flags in imitation of the French, replacing its colours with their own. In this way the French Tricolor has become one of the most influential national flags in history, standing in symbolic opposition to the autocratic and clericalist royal standards of the past as well as to the totalitarian banners of modern communism and fascism.[146]

Another legacy of the Revolutionary army is "La Marseillaise." It was composed by Rouget de Lisle, a captain of the engineers and amateur musician stationed in Strasbourg in April of 1792. It began as a marching song for the Army of the Rhine, and especially the volunteers from Marseilles, but soon caught on, went through innumerable

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[141] Ibid, 174.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Daniel Moran and Arthur Waldron, *The People in Arms, Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution*, 21.
[144] Encyclopedia Britannica Online. Accessed from: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1355238/flag-of-France. Apr. 4, 2014.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.

editions, and soon became *the* song of the Revolution, sung at performances, at festivals, in the army, and in schools.[147]

"La Marseillaise"

Stanza One	Stanza One
Allons, enfants de la patrie,	Rise up citizens of the fatherland,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé !	The day of glory has arrived!
Contre nous de la tyrannie	Against us the bloody standard
L'étandard sanglant est levé!	Of tyranny has been raised!
Entendez vous dans les campagnes	Do you hear in your fields
Mugir ces féroces soldats?	Those ferocious soldiers cry out?
Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras	They come right into our midst
Egorger nos fils, nos compagnes.	To cut the throats of our sons, our wives.
Refrain	
Aux armes, citoyens,	To arms, citizens,
Formez vos bataillons!	Form your battalions !
Marchons! Marchons!	Let us march! Let us march!
Qu'un sang impur	Let an impure blood water our
Abreuve nos sillons !	furrows ![148]

"La Marseillaise," which invoked the threat of the enemy identified with tyranny and bloodshed, became an ode to the Revolution and its triumphs over aggression and oppression.[149] The song provided a rallying point, much like the tricolor flag, for the soldiers. It was a way to inspire them, and give them energy, when they were tired or injured. It stood as a symbol of the nation which they held so dear.

The legacy of the Republic and its military is infused with nationalist sentiment and the levy *en masse*. The French Revolutionary army has been glorified for its military

[147] Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution*, 277.
[148] Ibid, 277-278. In this instance I have utilized Kennedy's translation, as it was provided in his source.
[149] Ibid, 277.

success and its spread of nationalism. Wherever the army went, so went the revolutionary ideals of France. However, it was not until 1879 that "La Marseillaise" became the national anthem of France; and not until 1880 was July 14th made the national holiday, Bastille Day.[150]

The Constitution of the Year III, given on the 22nd of August 1795 (or 5th Fructidor, Year III) was originally supposed to be a modification of the Constitution of 1793. However, the influence of the conservative Centrists and Girondins, and revolution against the Jacobin era, resulted in a whole new constitution, establishing the Directory. It also had the benefit of drawing upon experience, not simply political theory.[151] It presented a Declaration of Duties that paralleled the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which began:

> 1. The rights of man in society are liberty, equality, security, and property. 2. Liberty consists of being able to do whatever is not injurious to the rights of others. 3. Equality is a circumstance in which the law is the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. Equality does not admit any distinction of birth, or any inheritance of powers. 4. Security is a consequence of the concurrence of all to assure the rights of each individual. 5. Property is the right to enjoy and dispose of one's property, one's income, and the product of one's labor and industry. 6. Law is the general will, expressed by the majority of citizens or their representatives.[152]

This Declaration does not include the right of resistance to oppression. These rights exemplify the aims of the revolution: to establish a nation in which all men were free and legally equal. Despite the drastic power struggles that occurred between 1789 and 1795, these inherent rights of man remained. The foundations of the Revolution thus seemed to remain unshaken.

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[150] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 389.
[151] Ibid, 571.
[152] Ibid, 572-573.

The Constitution of the Year III modified these rights by saying that "every citizen owes his services to the Patrie, and to the maintenance of liberty, equality, and property, whenever the law summons him to defend them."[153] The National Convention asserted that the people owed their freedom and liberty to the nation, from which followed the belief that the people would happily defend it against any threat.

Despite the many changes in power during the French Revolution, the ideas which inspired it remained at the forefront of the movement. Liberty, equality, and fraternity continued to be expressed throughout the remainder of the Revolution in support of different leaders, and eventually would be used to support Napoleon's rise to power. The revolutionary principles and expressions of nationalism focused on the good of the nation, and were interpreted to support the rule of one man for the good of the many.

[153] Ibid, 574.

Conclusion

Overall, nationalism played an important role in the French Revolution of 1789. It was a driving force for change within the state. The shift from monarchy to the idea of a nation in the interests of the people reflected an emerging national consciousness. Love for *la patrie* and *la nation* surfaced with the Revolution, free from ties to the monarchy and Catholic Church. With influence from Enlightenment writers like Rousseau, the baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Locke, the Revolution aimed for an enlightened, nationally-minded France. Through publications like the General Cahiers and political pamphlets, the nationalist ideology was distributed and publicized. Orators like Mirabeau, Vergniaud, Barére, Danton, and Robespierre likewise spread the national ideals of the revolution. Their speeches provide an important insight into the evolution of revolutionary policy and its reflection of French nationalism. The levy *en masse* of 1793 relied heavily on national pride and patriotic spirit. Symbols such as the tricolor flag and "La Marseillaise" remain enduring images of the French Revolution of 1789. Nationalism should not be seen as just a result of the French Revolution, as is often the case; rather, the growth of nationalism was among the causes of the French Revolution and its subsequent development.[154] The spread of nationalist ideals through social and political forums cemented the Revolution's goals and created a national France.

[154] Geoffrey Best, *The Permanent Revolution: The French Revolution and Its Legacy, 1789-1989*, 43-44.

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Upon graduation, Kiley plans to attend the Simmons Graduate School of Library and Information Sciences to pursue an Archive Management dual degree culminating in a Master of Arts in History and a Master of Science in Library Science. After which, she would like to work in a museum where she can share her passion for history with visitors of all ages and interests.